UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Religion and Science

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

Conscience and Law

By WALTER WALSH

Of the Orient and Elsewhere

By FREDERICK STARR

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIII THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 1924 NUMBER 3

A MOUNTAIN FOR THE LORD.

Shape yourself into a mountain for the Lord,
Be a bastion powered with purposes,
Base yourself firmly upon the earth,
Let the roots of you grow deep, deeper,
Dig into the sources, the forces of creation,
Make yourself of rock and loving soil,
Let strains of precious metal run through you,
Let shrubs and flowers, growing things cling close
And grasses tender, mosses sweet nestle in between;
Nourish the trunks of beautiful trees,
Nurture springs of crystal water,
Start the rivers toward the sea;
Divide yourself in little paths,
For weary ones to wander where they will,
The strong to toil in patience up and on;
Deny no one, man, woman, child,
The privilege of climbing over you;
Gather in yourself great fires,
Listen to their rumblings profound,
Cap your summit with the snows of knowledge;
Stretch yourself to newer heights each day,
Defy the elements, be an example against the sky;
Lift, O lift your voice in songs of volcanic joy,
Shape yourself into a mountain for the Lord.

ROSALIE GOODYEAR.

Nothing is more hazardous than the business of listing or classifying names. A few weeks ago we baptized the *Arbitrator's* list of 250 "intransigeants" as a "Who's Who in the Kingdom of God," only to discover that the name of our saintly associate, Charles F. Dole, was not included. Imagine the Kingdom of God without Dr. Dole! It simply can't be done. But this is not the worst. In an early January issue of this paper, we set down the names of the great and good who had died in 1923, and omitted the name of Emil G. Hirsch, greatest Jew of his time, incomparable prophetic spirit, beloved friend of Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and for years one of the most honored of our own Editorial Contributors. The thing sounds incredible—but it is a fact all the same. Just as it is a fact that a certain man, traveling in Europe, counted again and again his bags and boxes and trunks, only to discover when he was safely esconsed in his compartment, that he had left his wife behind! In the list of the dead in 1923, we named among the losses to religion *Bishop Williams, William C. Gannett, John Clifford* and *John W. Jowett.* To these should of course have been added *Dr. Hirsch,* not the least in this illustrious group. Our reverence for Dr. Hirsch outstrips expression; our gratitude to him can never be discharged. If we can find any comfort in our error, it is that we here find occasion once again to pay tribute to this great man.

Not in any spirit of vindictiveness, but in emphatic reminder of the significance of things, we beg to call the attention of our readers to the men now on exhibition in Washington to explain their offenses against the state. Certain of these men are interesting from the pacifist and radical point of view! Thus, there is Mr. Gregory, late Attorney-General in President Wilson's cabinet, a pacifist-baiter from the moment we went into the war; this noble patriot is so connected with oil interests that he has been unanimously adjudged unfit to have any hand in the investigations! Next comes A. Mitchell Palmer, the instigator of the notorious "red" raids of 1920, shown-up as the friend of McLean and the servant of his interests. Then there is Daugherty, enemy of pacifists and "reds," consistent opponent of the release of political offenders, now on trial for his political life, and bereft of every last rag of public esteem. We must not forget the pitiful Denby, champion of a big navy, militarist to the core. And lastly, here is our old friend, Burns, the detective who discovers "red" conspiracies against the government while you wait, explains Wall Street explosions as attacks on society, and denounces pacifists and radicals indiscriminately as traitors—here he is described in a recent newspaper head-line as himself "a spy." Well, the mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind all right! It sometimes seems as though the chickens would never come home to roost, but they come! Aren't some things becoming plain? why man after man whose chief stock in trade has been denunciation of radicals of every stripe, is now caught in this oil mess? *Because these men regard government as a private preserve, to be expoited in private interests, namely their own! To defend these interests—this is patriotism; to criticize or question or attack these interests—this is treason.* Remember this the next time any man anywhere denounces a radical!

As we survey the British Labor Party in power these days in England, we find ourselves wondering what are the thoughts of our radical friends who have abandoned in despair the weapon of political action. It's no use voting, they have said. All political parties are

the same. Not political but economic changes lie at the heart of the reform, and these must be wrought altogether outside the field of government. Argument drawn from American experience seems to sustain this conclusion. If there is anything more impossible than our Democratic-Republican bi-partisan system of politics, we search for it in vain. But look across the seas, and behold what is going on in England! The British Labor Party has been in power a little over a month—and a transformation seems to have come over the Empire and the world. Free Trade has been established in Britain as a policy that cannot be shaken. Russia has been recognized, and thus restored to the whole family of nations. Gandhi has been freed, and the cause of Indian independence thus become again a real issue. Disarmament is once more in the forefront of the world's attention, and an international conference on this central issue an immanent possibility. France is curbed in her intent to destroy Germany, and Poincaré thrown for the first time into an attitude of defense. All because one political party was defeated at the polls, and another political party thus put in power. Much can be done by political action, if only we have the wit and the will to use this weapon. Of course, if we act like a herd of morons, as we Americans do, we can expect to accomplish nothing. But if we do as the English do, and have done unfailingly in the last three hundred years, there is no revolution of the social order that cannot be achieved peacefully by the ballot.

People talk of the United States as an idealist nation. Is this true? In one sense it may be true. All the garnered treasures of the ideals of the human race have fallen to us as an inheritance. Perhaps no nation ever existed in which so many people are early made familiar with noble ideals in beautiful forms. Where else do so many millions of children go to Sunday School as in this country? And all these millions must learn by heart at least a few of the great spiritual sentences; they know what the Golden Rule is, and they have all heard the Beatitudes read often. When therefore a man like President Wilson, holding a grand public position, weaves into his addresses one or more of the common-places of the good life, and seems to apply it to a present situation, people are delighted to applaud. "What a great idealist!" they say, as if the speaker had discovered the secret of the ancient words. And the cockles of their hearts are warmed by a bit of emotion, as they are taken up into the level of sympathy with their eminent leader. We Americans are thus highly idealist in our disposition, in so far as the quick response to a great idea makes us idealists. We recall that Mr. Wilson's idealistic proclamations took well all over the world—possibly the more readily in countries where politicians do not utter them so often as ours. The fact is that man being "incurably religious," everywhere and in all lands is an idealist by nature.

There is another more profound sense in which we test the idealism of a person or a nation. It is rather cheap and easy to "feel good" at hearing the most splendid words of our language. But what if nothing happens after they are said? The psychologists agree with the moralists in their observation that the vital stream in us, having been stirred by a magnificent vision, and then inhibited by a cautious or timid will, grows stagnant and does not respond so heartily to the grand words. It is dreadful to reflect that there are places where the reading of Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points today might even rouse men's displeasure. Who as yet understands that strange nature, which could grow eloquent over the noblest ideals, and yet go forth and order his conduct almost as if by a rule of contraries! Why did not his heart break at the ghastly disappointment that the lapse between his promises and his accomplishments had made among millions of men? Must we not say—not that he was insincere—but that his ideals, being only visions, had never grown into convictions to command his life? And must we not say of the American people also, that as a whole, while they entertain ideals, their ideals stop short of ever becoming convictions? Indeed they have possibly never been so far from willingness, as since the great war, to take any risks in following their ideals.

We think of the Pharisees as men of long ago; but who were they and what constituted a Pharisee? They were a common type of human nature and belong to every age. If there is a Pharisee *virus*, we are all of us susceptible to its infection. We are all Pharisees when we have got the Golden Sentences by rote, being proud of this spiritual resonance, have become comfortably accustomed to live in a world very skeptical about adopting its ideals into its social and political and economical plans. Who has been fairly converted to those vital convictions about the ideals which alone give a man constancy to make them real? The churches are full of "Christians," who are in favor of the Golden Rule as a future ideal, who as yet are without any confidence that we can make it work. They profess to hate war, but they support whatever recommendations are made for maintaining the army and navy. Idealism is stifled in a soil of worn-out profession, overgrown by cynicism and indifference.

Was there not, however, a little glorious period of enthusiasm for the "War that was to end war"? Grant that a certain small percentage of high-minded youths accepted this delusive interpretation of the war. What

do those who survived think about it? We know today that a hysteria of fear—the very opposite of moral enthusiasm—urged the nation into the war. Incredible as it now seems, grown men and women suffered a fright, lest the German Kaiser would rob us of our liberties! Ministers made a *moratorium* while the war lasted, within which the bottom truths might not be told and the visions—of faith, hope and love—must be deferred. We have the story of a day when the streets of old Jerusalem were filled with a crowd of enthusiasts for the young Galilean prophet, and then presently we read, that "they all forsook him and fled." Let us not undervalue any gleam of enthusiasm; the more of it the better. But the test of the new religion and the measure of its enthusiasm came, when men and women believed so much in it as to face howling mobs and actually learned to "return good for evil" to the people who insulted them.

An interesting life has been written concerning William Wilberforce, the Emancipator. A goodly number of respectable Englishmen agreed with him in his opinion of the slave trade. They hated it and they looked forward to a time when it might cease. They were even pleased to imagine themselves to be doing something in voting to reform the traffic and give the Negroes a little more berth room on the slave ships. And more than once pushed by the petitions of earnest people in their constituencies, they went so far as to fix a day when the trade must stop. And the House of Lords, the bulwark of the Church of England, found respectable reasons to permit the trade to go on. The test of genuine good will is always the same. It is always in what you are willing to pay and to do. We in the United States think ourselves to be enthusiastic for our League of Nations. In other words, millions of people would like to leave the subject of war to the League. The League will put an end to war for us! Do these numerous signers of petitions for the League propose to do anything themselves? Will they stand up and be counted as ready to *give up* the barbarity of war, to support no more armies, to veto the imperialist schemes of our State Department on the Caribbean Sea and Central America, in short to trust in the religion of Good Will? We Americans remain in the same tolerant attitude toward war as Wilberforce's neighbors were more than a century ago with reference to the slave trade. For practical purposes and for the present we believe in it. But we confuse spiritual enthusiasm, as an easy emotion, with the good-will—heart and soul and mind and strength—which purposes and accomplishes and never yields.

Religion and Science

I. The Fear for Religion

There seem to be regularly recurring periods in the history of thought, when men fear for the power, place, or even for the very existence of religion. We are living in one of those periods at the present time when a large body of sincere and thoughtful men are convinced that religion is destined to play a decreasingly important part in civilization, and they fear the results. Others who are perhaps less honest in acknowledging their convictions, betray by their anxious behavior the grave solicitude which haunts their minds.

Such fears have their counterpart in other phases of the social life. A growing number of sociologists are apprehensive regarding the integrity of the family which shows unmistakable signs of increasing instability and disintegration. The facts regarding the divorce rate are sufficiently startling to cause the gravest doubts regarding the future; and beside this aspect of the problem is the equally significant and rapidly growing change in the modern conception of the place and function of the family in civilization.

There are fears for democracy, lest this priceless treasure, won at inconceivable cost, should be lost in a recrudescence of class domination or dictatorship. There is a wide-spread fear for the existence of civilization itself, for so many destructive agencies have been developed by man that it is entirely conceivable that culture, industry, art, and education may be wiped out in another titanic war. On every side we hear prophecies and warnings from men who have thought deeply and seriously on the destiny of our western civilization. Much of our wide-spread pessimism begins in fear. Nearly all of it ends there.

And many of these doubts and questionings are well founded. There is no good reason to believe in any magic formula or innate charm which will protect the institutions of our day from the decay which has overtaken the civilizations of the past. The Spencerian conception of the inevitable perfectibility of man is a delusion born of the first great burst of optimism following the discovery of the law of evolution. But we understand this law better than our forefathers and we especially have come to see that evolution is not synonymous with progress.

Institutions which were conceived in their day and generation to be rooted in the eternal, have long since passed into decay. Families, religions, arts and customs have gone down to oblivion because people were satisfied with oratorical gestures about their inevitableness.

So at the outset let us grant that grave concern if not actual fear may be justified in regard to the existence, place and power of religion. It is altogether a too facile optimism which trusts that religion con-

tains within itself the seeds of continuous progress. There most certainly have been times when religion has lost its power to control and direct civilization. Many times in history it has been suspected, derided and rejected. It would be hard to prove that we are not entering one of those eras at the present time when large masses of the people are forsaking the institutions of religion for other values and ways of thought and life.

Nothing is to be gained by denying that religion has enemies both numerous and powerful. When materialism and greed become rampant, when sensuousness is an accepted philosophy of life, when exploitation rules and men are ground by exacting toil, then religion may indeed lose its grip on life. When wars, race antagonisms, hatreds and passions are let loose to wreak their terrible destruction in society, men may well fear for religion. They will do well if they heed the voice of the prophets and strive for a revaluing of values.

But beside these obvious enemies of the spiritual life we have science, which for many centuries has fought the creeds, theologies and churches which have been the inevitable concomitant of organized religion. Need we fear this conflict? Is it reasonable to be anxious over the results upon the religious life? May science, like other modes and values, win men away from the enlargement and enrichments of the spiritual life? May it not indeed do exactly what many sincere persons have feared—destroy the religious foundations and therefore cause increasingly large numbers of men to abandon religion as henceforth untenable and out of harmony with modern life?

At least two emphatic and categorical answers are made to this question. One group of thinkers would say that they do fear this conflict and that if it continues, it will alienate multitudes from religion. Others deny the fact of conflict and therefore repudiate the fear. But the latter group does not quite see the whole situation. In denying conflict between religion and science *per se* they do not always realize that there may be a conflict *within the individual,* over the relation between religion and science *for the individual.* This conflict does exist. It is a complex which may lead to final harmony, or which may lead to the rejection of either religion or science.

This conflict is a *subjective* experience which comes to multitudes of the most thoughtful and sincere persons. The writer has been in a position to see it going on and to see how often it results in the complete rejection of religion or in a half-hearted compromise which is not wholesome to intellectual honesty, or in inability to acquire the scientific mode of thinking.

It ought not to be necessary, in view of recent studies in psychology, biography, and sociology, to emphasize the value of religion and the place which it ought to hold in preserving the higher life of man. We need religion as a personal refinement, and as a cohesive force binding peoples together in a consciousness of common interests and in the pursuit of noblest ends. Religion, properly understood and practiced, makes for a deeper, richer personal experience and a more stable social life.

This essay, therefore, will be an attempt to clarify the relation between religion and science, to briefly survey some of the attempts that have been made to understand their reciprocal relations and to suggest certain solutions of the problem, especially to suggest a psychological interpretation which it is hoped may throw new light on this age-old complex.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

(To be continued)

Jottings

There are lots of people in the world whom we feel sorry for. At the moment we think we feel the sorriest for the officers of the Harding Memorial Association.

Those churches that conceive of Christ as a mere creature, albeit of the most exalted type, have not shown that zeal and energy for the kingdom of God displayed by those who honor Christ as "very God of very God."

So says the Rev. Prof. Robert M. Kerr, in *Bibliotheca Sacra* (January, 1924). We call this statement flat ignorance. Let the Rev. Prof. read the history of Quakerism and Unitarianism, and learn what "zeal and energy for the kingdom of God" really are!

Henry H. Rowland, in a letter to the *Christian Advocate* (February 28th), urges the union of Methodism with other denominations in China.

"There is a strong movement in China," he says, "toward church union. The various Presbyterian bodies have united. The Anglicans and Lutherans have followed their example. . . . What are our divisions to the convert on the foreign field?"

Why not "a united Christian church." Why not, brethren, *why not?* Who can give a convincing answer to this question?

So America *did* get something out of the war, after all! Lloyd-George says that we "got most out of the War"—more than any other nation. What we got, he declares, was Prohibition! There may be a question as to whether this really came out of the war, but Lloyd-George's statement is well worth pondering all the same.

The Bombay *Chronicle* calls attention to Lenin's salary—$1700 a year, a tenth the cost of Winston Churchill's automobile! We remember seeing where the great Russian lived in the Kremlin. We wondered

then, as we do now, if in the history of the world the head of a great nation ever lived in such simplicity.

Germans in Dresden broke up the first performance of an anti-militarist play, entitled "Hinkemann," and drove it permanently from the boards. This is surprising news from Saxony! The Germans there, as elsewhere, ought to be engaged in better business.

J. H. H.

Conscience and Law

Good men must not obey the laws too well.—(Emerson, "Politics.")

We should be men first, and subjects afterward.—(Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience.")

We will obey all the laws of our country faithfully, so far as they are consistent with what we believe to be the Law of God; and when they are not so, or seem in any wise to need change, we will oppose them, not with violence, but deliberately and loyally.—(Ruskin, "Pledge of the Guild of St. George.")

During the fighting days of Nonconformity, before it sank into respectability, much was heard of what the Puritans called "The Crown Rights of Jesus." Wherever Charles trespassed on the domains of Christ he was met by a defiant assertion of "The Crown Rights of Jesus." Whatever the Independents conscientiously believed to be law in Christ's kingdom became their rule of action in opposition to any inferior enactments of the State.

Thus the true opposition was between Conscience and the State, or Conscience and the Church as a tool of statecraft. The opposition persists even in modern times. I might bring forward a variety of minor cases. But while the outstanding cause of antagonism in earlier days was the question whether schismatics should be compelled to attend service in the State Church, the antagonism of our day is excited by such questions as these: Must pacifists perform service in the State Army? Must citizens support their country in wars which they believe to be wrong?

The question as between private conscience and public law is a delicate one which each individual must settle for himself; since there are almost as many consciences as there are men and women. A religious teacher must confine himself to general principles, leaving each to decide his own personal responsibility.

Among the far-lying moors and mountains of our country, a picturesque custom still survives as a means of establishing the claims of landlords to their estates. It is called "riding the marches." Once a year there is a great muster of lords and tenantry, who gather to see horsemen ride along the borders of adjacent properties, with the object of defining their respective boundaries and affirming the owner's claims to all that lies on this or the other side. The boundary-line is called "the march"; and the two estates are said to "march"—side by side, as it were. Hence the phrase "riding the marches."

Now then, by analogy, I reason that there are two fair estates which between them divide human allegiance.

We call them conscience and law. Sometimes they "march"—that is, run side by side, each within its own border. Sometimes they cross each other; they get confused and even obliterated; for sheep and men both make various footways. Then it becomes difficult to determine the relation between a person's conscience and the public authority to which he is subject.

And then I want you to understand that by "law," I do not in this present address mean the grand eternal thing called Moral Law, but the narrower affair represented by civil ordinances, parliamentary enactments, municipal by-laws, police regulations, military decrees, and so forth; everything, in short, that we mean by "the law of the land" as distinguished from the Law of God.

It is a happy thing when one is able honestly to assume that the law of the land is right and good. No responsible person is a willing rebel. But the awkward thing is that laws which are right and good may by immoral governors be enforced against right and good people; for wrong-doers not unseldom get hold of the machinery of administration, and turn it against the righteous, sending them to languish in prison while their rulers riot in palaces. That is no uncommon spectacle in human story. In well-known lines, Lowell describes it as "Truth for ever on the scaffold, Wrong for ever on the throne." The nonconforming schismatics of the Stuart period were up against party politics on quite different lines from ours; but the lines appear to have been just as acute, just as acrimonious, and, may I add, just as dishonest as our own. They do not appear to have had a drink question, an education or a sex question on any considerable scale; but they evidently had a misuse-of-law question, a taxation question, a ship-money question, a liberty of conscience question, a Charles Stuart question, in fact; so that by a caustic reversal of scripture terms, the magistrates became a praise to evil-doers, and a terror to them that did well! Unjust judgment proceeded from the tribunals. The wicked flaunted their crimes on the high-ways, while the virtuous walked in the shadow of the by-ways and hedges.

In these days, when some honestly approve, while many accept in a sneaking sort of way because of some commercial profit it may bring them, the Russian revolution, one may, without offence, take an illustration on a big scale.

It is well known that under the Tsardom, in the name of law and order, innumerable crimes of the first magnitude were committed; innumerable tortures, murders and atrocities were perpetrated by the rulers of the Russian people upon their unhappy subjects. Few would have the hardihood to maintain that it was a duty to render obedience to those brutal ordinances which supplanted law. Few would dare to condemn those who rebelled against them. Rebels like Tolstoy and Lenin could give but one answer to the barbarous autocrat,—the answer of Diogenes to Alexander,—Stand out of our sunshine!

We are now in a position to see the sense of our saying from Emerson. Every actual State, he says, is corrupt, therefore "good men must not obey the laws too well." Thus the greatest moral philosopher of modern times sets conscience above law.

Henry David Thoreau asserts the same principle in our second text, "We should be men first, and subjects afterward."

James Russell Lowell (to whom I owe so much) stands with his American contemporaries, as a good Republican should—

> Our country claims our fealty: we grant it so, but then
> Before man made us citizens, great Nature made us men.

And last, Ruskin—by temperament one of the most placid and least turbulent of Englishmen—when formulating the pledges of the Guild of St. George, asserted the duty of its members to obey all the laws of the country faithfully, so far as they were consistent with what they believed to be the Law of God. But when they were not so, or seemed in any wise to need change, he as clearly asserted the right to oppose them. Only, such opposition was to be rendered "not with violence, but deliberately and loyally."

Here, in fact, in a new form, is the historic assertion of the crown rights of conscience. It is the Soul against the State. It is manhood against mechanism. And, in the well known lines of an Elizabethan dramatist,

> Man is his own star; and the soul that can
> Render an honest and a perfect man
> Commands all light, all influence, all fate.
> Nothing to him falls early, or too late.
> Our acts our angels are, or good or ill,
> Our fatal shadows that walk by us still.
>
> —*John Fletcher.*

I suppose we will all agree that law can restrain or dictate only in proportion as it has moral sanction behind it. What is a law? A law is nothing but the articulated moral sense of a community. Laws are waste paper except as they are backed by the conscience of the people,—ropes of sand which fall to pieces the moment the pull comes, or iron walls of despotism yielding only to the bombs or dynamite of outraged revolutionaries.

Herein lies the wisdom of the common warning against "legislating ahead of public opinion." It is quite a reasonable caution. Religion, education, culture, manners, morals, are helped very little by votes or ballots, unless these high things have first existed potentially in the minds of the people. These are matters you cannot vote in or out, up or down. They are far removed from party politics. They belong to humanity. To some small extent law may help on public morality, but mostly it is public morality that helps on law. In other words, good law is not the cause, but the result of a preponderance of good conscience throughout the majority of the people. The true idea of today is the just law of tomorrow; and tomorrow's law will gradually become obsolete as it is realized in public character; and then it must be repealed in favor of a more advanced law expressing the growth of public conscience.

Legislative enactments are parallel to church creeds in the sense that both alike are, or ought to be regarded as, historic milestones along the highway of human progress, marking successive stages of the way, and serving the useful purpose of recording distances. But as no traveller builds a granite mansion beside a milestone, and dwells there forever, but merely makes a note of it and goes forward, so ought we to leave behind us laws outlived and creeds outworn, and advance towards the purer laws and truer creeds of the future.

Staid folk are staggered by the incessant demand for change. "What," they cry, "will there never be industrial peace, but only successive demands for higher wages and better conditions? Shall we never be able to rest contentedly on the teaching of the Church? Is there no finality?" No, my friend, none! And why? Because there is no finality to human nature and human progress. As civilization advances the standard of life rises; men and women become averse to rotting in mouldy hovels and slum cellars, or dressing and eating with less refinement than the denizens of the wild. There is a great amount of truth in the common saying that you cannot make the people sober—or honest—by Act of Parliament. Yet it is not the whole truth. For by law sobriety can be made easier and drunkenness more difficult. A sufficiency for health and culture renders it easier to be honest. The question is, How far are the people sufficiently sober—or honest—to be willing to consent to measures for making themselves still more sober or more honest?

The House of Commons erred the other night in rejecting the Local Option Bill for Wales; which in any case is a matter that ought to be decided by the Welsh people themselves, who are the best judges whether more or fewer drink shops, or none at all, will be good for their country. Is it not something of an impertinence for a British House of Commons, which includes English brewers and Scots distillers, to determine that Wales shall have no power to protect itself against the ravages of alcohol? It is to prepare the way for finer decisions of public opinion that reformers of various kinds set out on propaganda work. They set out to stir up and educate the public conscience, and thus secure better legislation; such legislation, in turn, makes further propaganda easy; and from that renewed propaganda still higher legislation can be effected. Thus conscience and law act and react on one another.

It is the eternal bane of politics that it cannot and dare not legislate ahead of public opinion; for an enactment that is defied is worse than no enactment at all; because it does nothing to lessen the particular evil aimed at, while it habituates the public to a condition of disobedience. That is what makes the politician so much more a trimmer and time-server in appearance than he often is in fact. He is for ever compelled to keep his finger on the public pulse. He has to follow, as much as lead, the public conscience. This is not necessarily to be urged as a reproach against him. It is one of the penalties of his position. All that we are entitled to demand of a law-maker—next to common honesty, of course—is that he shall not pander to the degraded portion of the populace, but strive to make law a register and confirmation of the higher intelligence and feeling among the people.

I think there will be general agreement that there is no moral authority in law, as law, just because it is law; for it may be unjust in itself; it may even be immoral; it may express the will of an autocrat, and a wicked one at that; or may promulgate the decrees of a Star Chamber or a Rump Parliament, or a Roman Triumvirate. When the majority of men are good, and have the making of the laws, good laws are made; are observed by the good and enforced on the wicked. Law thus is yoked to coercion; which is law's everlasting weakness; whereas gospel is persuasion, which is its everlasting strength. The penalties attached to law-breaking represent nothing more than the doubled fist of the community; and rascaldom

counts it virtue and praise to defy and evade them. The lawless section of a community may be said to be too bad to obey law even when it is good. In other words, there may be good laws but bad citizens; and when the wicked outnumber the just the case for law and order is going desperate. Men snap their fingers and decide to walk after the sight of their eyes and the desire of their hearts. There is always a lawless element to whom law is a positive stimulus to crime; while for the just and good people laws have practically no existence. The weakness of law is that while it can imprison the body it cannot subdue the will. That was a wise word of a legislator of the last generation, "Force is no remedy." You can whip a boy for dirty habits, but you cannot thrash him into purity of heart.

On the other hand, we must recognize that some psychological conditions that represent themselves as conscientious arise rather from egotism,—not conscience so much as pure cussedness, prejudice, and pigheadedness. From that state of mind let us pray the Good Lord of Common-sense to deliver us.

Now let us return to the Emersonian dictum that good men must not obey the laws too well; and to Thoreau's judgment that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. We should now be able to see that the sage and the individualist of Concord were not competing for leadership in the Nihilist movement. Not by any means.

Law may be repudiated by conscience, and condemned by moral sense, because such law falls below the general *morale* of a community; and may therefore be revolting to high-minded citizens. Just as there may be good laws but bad citizens, so there may be bad laws and good citizens. Then law becomes weak, loses its authority, can be ignored, defied, laughed at as a dead letter. Law becomes evil whenever it runs counter to personal righteousness, turning the best people of the country into criminals, as it did with Galileo, George Fox, John Bunyan, Francisco Ferrer, Eugene Debs, Mahatma Gandhi, and millions more of whom the world was not worthy. We shall all agree with Thoreau that under such Governments, the only place for honest men is in prison. It is recorded that Thoreau went to gaol rather than pay a tax which he considered unjust. Emerson went to see him. "Henry, why are you here?" queried the sage, "Ralph, why are you not here, demanded the individualist.

In the upward march of civilization, all peoples pass through these stages; and they never pass without a struggle between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction. At sharp crises like these, good men must even go beyond the precept of Emerson. Not only must they not obey the laws too well, but they must absolutely disobey the law of the land, if they are not to incur the real guilt of breaking the eternal moral law. Even a non-resistant like Tolstoy constantly broke the Russian laws against prohibited literature. George Borrow used to smuggle Bibles into Spain. Lutherans, Huguenots, Albigenses, Dutch "water-beggars," English Quakers, and Scots Covenanters systematically defied the laws of their respective countries and endured many penalties, from the stocks to the stake. The most conspicuous instance is that of the early Christians whose case a historical writer puts in a nutshell when he says: "The followers of Jesus were liable to persecution and to death, because their refusal to worship the Emperor was regarded as treason against the State." The history of Christian Europe for more than a thousand years is little else but a long and bloody story of the refusal of conscientious minorities to obey the laws made by unscrupulous and coercive majorities, who represented sometimes the State and at other times the Church.

It is heart-breaking to think of the loss to the human race caused by the tyrant's trick of making and enforcing bad laws. Take the conspicuous case of Louis XIV. When that tyrant revoked the Edict of Nantes (the edict of toleration) and drove from France the very salt of the country, he at the same time, by necessity, put premiums upon hypocrisy in the case of the conformists who remained. He played havoc with the moral sense of the country, and weakened it against the day of its coming need. But it is the way of tyrants to sacrifice moral considerations, every time, to the political expediencies of the moment.

Take another instance from the last Louis. When Louis Napoleon cruelly destroyed the short-lived Roman republic, Mazzini publicly accused him of desiring to accustom the French soldiery to fire upon the republican flag. Having got used to shooting Republicans in Italy, they would not squirm at shooting them in France. The habit acquired in Rome would be serviceable one day in Paris! So it transpired.

But this, you will say, was military law. Precisely. That is the very point. The tyrant always has military law behind civil law. The soldier is always behind the despot. And when military law has superseded civil government, there is a double need to remember Emerson's "Good men must not obey the laws too well," and Thoreau's "We should be men first, and subjects afterward."

The shocking events now taking place in Central Europe—in Rhineland and the Palatinate—put a sharp point on these reflections. Unjust laws backed by military sanctions are turning decent people into savages; so that those who wish to enforce the laws, and those who resist enforcement, are rending one another with almost equal barbarity. Let that be admitted. Yet let us at the same time recognize a vast difference in motive between those who, relying on violence, attempt to terrorize the citizens of a country, and such citizens, who, believing also in violence, defend their citizenship by violent methods. We may deprecate violence on each and every side, yet denounce the bad motive of the oppressor and acknowledge the good motive of the oppressed. And it is *motive* that differentiates the moral from the immoral.

Speaking of the emergence of military law in Europe, let me recall an illuminating passage between Herbert Spencer and Moncure Conway, nearly thirty years ago. So far back as 1898, Spencer wrote to Conway, giving this remarkable prevision of things that have come about.—

> Now that the white savages of Europe are overrunning the dark savages everywhere; now that the European nations are vying with one another in political burglaries; now that we have entered upon an era of social cannibalism, in which the strong nations are devouring the weaker; now that national interests, national prestige, pluck, and so forth, are alone thought of, and equity has utterly dropped out of thought, while rectitude is scorned as "unctious"; it is useless to resist the wave of barbarism. There is a bad time coming, and civilized mankind will (morally) be uncivilized before civilization can again advance.

Mr. Moncure Conway took an even darker view,

as his *Autobiography* plainly showed. His sun set in eclipse—the eclipse which was despair. "Why," he asked, "should partial freedom emerge again from military despotism, after many generations, or ever?" Today, there are many who will despairingly echo him, and say, Why, indeed! There is no answer except this,—Why should the sun rise after it has set? Why should the tide flow after it has ebbed?

The fact is, that the good require no laws. The abolition of the entire legal code—with the Decalogue and the British Constitution flung in—would make no difference to them. They live on a plane above and beyond law and penalty. The law of God is written on their hearts; and thus they are, in the startling paradox of the New Testament, "free from the law" of man, whether of Moses of Solon, Pope Pius or the General Staff. To the truly good, the fulfillment of good laws is as natural, spontaneous and unconscious as the act of inhaling oxygen. Such persons are the bulwark of States. Legality as a rule of conduct is only for the vulgar—whether poor or rich, gentle or simple. To be virtuous only from fear of the policeman is to be a coarse materialist. The Christians who obeyed a higher law than the Emporers' were the Empire's safety, as Constantine the crafty recognized. The best law-keepers are those who never stop to think about law. They can say with Browning's Puccio,

> God's love, that I should live, the man I am,
> On orders, warrants, patents and the like,
> As if there were no glowing eye i' the world,
> To glance straight inspiration to my brain,
> No glorious heart to give mine twice the beats!

So then, we see that everything runs back to individual character. Character is the only builder of Commonwealths. The greatness of a nation depends upon the kind of men who fill her workshops, man her ships, stoke her engines, run her banks, teach in her schools, write her newspapers, and cast her ballot-papers, rather than upon the kind of man you send to Parliament. I do not say the kind of man you send to Parliament is a thing indifferent; but I say that a far more important thing is the kind of man you take to church with you on Sunday and to market on Monday.

The logical and divine issue is in that millennial goal towards which the eye of the visionary is ever directed; a millennial age which is the state of heavenly anarchy—not the anarchy of scoundrels nor the iron reign of the saints—but of the state in which the possession of universal conscience gradually supersedes legality. This may possibly be a vision, an ideal, and nothing more; but none the less is it a gleam from Paradise which the successive generations of men are inspired to follow after till they reach the period when—to conclude with Emerson once more,—

> When the Church is social worth,
> When the State-house is the hearth
> Then the perfect State is come.

London, England. —*Walter Walsh.*

India at the Cross-Roads*

India today is seething from end to end with discontent and unrest. It is very difficult indeed to say what is likely to come in the next six months, especially in the North where all the fighting races are. Will they remain non-violent?

The months between January and the hot weather in May and June are always the most difficult in the North of India. When the heat has fully come, then, if no great disturbance has already happened, things are likely to settle down. For the monsoon rains of July and August and September, which follow the great heat, demand the whole time and energy of the village cultivator in his own field work; and it must never be forgotten that India is a land of villages, not of towns. Political thinkers, both from the side of the Government and from the side of the people, are now looking anxiously ahead. There is no wish at all on either side that actual violence should begin, but the tension has become so great that at any moment some act of violence may be committed which may snap asunder the bands which hold society together. Two things are adding greatly in the Punjab to the danger of the conflict between the Government and the people. The former is the unrest on the frontier; the latter is the Hindu-Moslem dispute.

In normal times, it is not too much to say that the village people of India are among the most peaceful and peace-loving in the world. They are also singularly reasonable in their outlook and easy to govern: indeed they have been perhaps *too* passive under burdens which few other people would endure. There is a great strength in this and also a weakness.

*The author of this article is one of the greatest living authorities on Indian problems.—J. H. H.

But these times in which we are now living in the East are far from normal. India, like Egypt, has been far more deeply disturbed since the Armistice in November, 1918, than at any time during the long period of the European war itself. The tornado of war—to use a singularly opposite metaphor—struck Europe first. During its terrible course only the distant reverberations were heard in the Far East. India and China with their countless millions were not engaged in the war as Europe was. But soon after the Armistice was reached in Europe, the storm broke out in Asia. In India, the Punjab atrocities took place early in 1919, and the Afghan War followed. Never since the Mutiny had such horror reigned in the Punjab as in the months of April, May, and June, 1919. It was the bitter experience of these events, combined with the breach of promise to the Mussulmans (finally embodied in the Treaty of Sèvres), which drove Mahatma Gandhi from his position as an ardent co-operator with the British Government into an attitude of revolt, which he called Non-co-operation. In a letter addressed "To Every Englishman in India" he explained fully that the Punjab wrong and the wrong done to the Indian Mussulmans had made him a rebel. He declared at the same time to his own people that the rebellion must be passive, a test of endurance through suffering, not of bloodshed and violence. At his call many thousands went to prison joyfully and gladly. At one time it was estimated that 25,000 of his followers were in jail.

Mahatma Gandhi's own imprisonment, early in the year 1922, brought a sudden hush in the midst of the tempest. Those who have been through a cyclone know full well how a weird unearthly pause comes when the

center of the cyclone is reached. Sea birds, in hundreds, fly screaming to and fro, and the atmosphere is tense with fear. Such a pause came in India in the months which followed Mahatma Gandhi's arrest. Now, there is every sign that at any moment the storm may break out again in all its fury. This time, owing to the great Indian leader's absence in jail, violence is not unlikely to occur. Voices on every side are being raised, crying out impatiently that passive resistance has failed.

As long as Mahatma Gandhi was out of prison and in entire control of the Non-co-operation Movement there was no active party of violence among the educated Non-co-operation leaders whom the villagers were ready to follow. Even among the Mussulmans all violence was suppressed. It is true that the mob broke loose on rare occasions, but, on the whole, a strictly passive resistance was observed. As I have related, many thousands went to prison with joy in their faces and peace in their hearts. The Indian prison system is antiquated and reform is long overdue. The Indian police are known to employ methods of punishment which can hardly be distinguished from torture. The suffering in prison was often terrible for the young idealists to bear. Government commissions of inquiry into local instances revealed barbarities which were almost incredible. At the same time, the prison officials in many cases were met with an indiscipline from their young political prisoners which was altogether contrary to Mahatma Gandhi's injunctions. The temper on both sides was rising, and the bitterness throughout the country has been increased a thousand fold both by these continued imprisonments and the barbarities which seem to be inevitably connected with them.

The Akali movement among the Sikhs in the Punjab at one time produced a passive resistance struggle which won the admiration of all who witnessed it. Its basis was religious at the first, and there was an element of martyrdom in it which appealed above all to the women of the Punjab. I shall never forget the scene along the roadside as the women met the bands of Sikhs who were going to Guruka-Bagh as passive resisters in order to suffer blows from the military police, but not return them. There was a rapt religious worship in the eyes of the village women whom I saw, as if they had seen a heavenly vision. The same was true of the thousands who witnessed the passive struggle itself at the Bagh. This story will live in the village annals of the poor long after Reform Councils are forgotten. It recalled to the villagers their old historic epics of the Sikh gurus themselves. What the future of this Akali movement will be none can foresee. There have already been signs of violence which are altogether of a different spirit from that which I witnessed with my own eyes at Guru-ka-Bagh. Probably only one man could prevent the violence from spreading, and that man is ill in prison—Mahatma Gandhi.

I am often asked what has happened to bring about the deadlock with regard to the Reform Councils and the practical rejection of the offer of an instalment of responsible government by Great Britain. My reply is that the offer was made too late and with too niggardly a hand. When it was accompanied by the Rowlatt Act and the Amritsar massacre and the Treaty of Sèvres it was bound to fail. People were not in the mood to give credit even to good intentions.

But today, all these things are almost forgotten, and the talk of every village circle in India is centered in one absorbing subject—Mahatma Gandhi in jail. On the eighteenth day of every month, countless women pray and fast, adding one more to their long series of religious devotions. For on the eighteenth day of the month, nearly two years ago, Mahatma Gandhi was imprisoned. At each fresh anniversary, women keep watch and vigil, and spend the day in fasting and prayer. A sight which is still of tragic pathos is to see on that day the women come to the great barred gates of Yeravada Jail, bringing in their hands at early dawn their offerings of worship. Many have come hundreds of miles. Some have walked on foot every step of the way as an act of devotion to one who is loved devotedly as a more than human embodiment of divine compassion. Every month that is added to Mahatma Gandhi's imprisonment adds to the volume of the pity of the women of India, which is akin to worship. I have written chiefly about the women, but among the men it is just the same, though the outward acts of reverence may not always take so directly a religious form.

I am writing these words on Sunday, January 12. In this morning's newspaper the tidings have reached me in England that Mahatma Gandhi is ill with continual fever and that he has been taken into a hospital in order to undergo an operation. The news appeared in an obscure corner of the London paper, and it might easily have been overlooked even by my own eyes as I searched the paper through to obtain what news I could about India. Yet that tiny paragraph will mean an agony of hourly anxiety in India —until the news is received of his recovery—such as the West cannot realize at all. If anything should happen to him while in prison, by which his life itself should be impaired, it could never be forgotten or forgiven.

I trust that by the time this article appears in print such a danger may be averted; but I have travelled in every part of India in recent years from the extreme south to the extreme north, and I have lived among the villagers as few Englishmen have done. It is no exaggeration, but the simple truth, to say that the one name on every lip is that of Mahatma Gandhi. By the treatment meted out to him, more than by anything else, the British rule in India will be judged by the masses of the Indian people.

"Foreign Affairs," London. —*C. F. Andrews.*

COURAGE*

'Tis the front toward life that matters most—
The tone, the point of view,
The constancy that in defeat
Remains untouched and true.

For death in patriot fight may be
Less gallant than a smile,
And high endeavor, to the Gods,
Seems in itself worth while!

The Outlook. —*Florence Earle Coates.*

*This poem appeared incorrectly printed in our issue of January 3. We reprint with apologies to the author.

THE STUDY TABLE

Of the Orient and Elsewhere

Under a somewhat sensational title, Walter B. Pitkin writes an unusually suggestive book upon our relations with Japan.[1] It is not certain that we will not fight Japan; it is certain that a war will not be forced by Japan. Those who direct the affairs of the Island Empire know far better than our national leaders do, what is involved in such a war. To maintain friendly relations with us, they have already yielded more than they should. If war comes, it will be ourselves who force it. Mr. Pitkin does not say all this—it is our own comment before coming to actual notice of his book. He recognizes that war is not inevitable, but he shows that there are many and powerful influences pushing toward it. He realizes and clearly demonstrates what most Americans do not know—that a war between the two nations would be futile. It would contain neither glory nor profit for either contestant. It could not end in a decisive victory. For Japan to wage an offensive war against us, to attack and seize our Pacific coast, is an impossibility. She could seize the Philippines, she might take Hawaii—both would be but momentary gains. For us to directly attack Japan by sea, to land and conquer her territory, is an impossibility even with our wealth and resourcefulness. War between the two nations would ruin Japan, it would involve an expenditure which would cripple us for a long time into the future and reduce our influence in world affairs to zero. There are, however, difficulties between the two countries. Japan's overpopulation, the fact that she is driven to manufacture and transportation, the fact that she must inevitably develop trade and influence on the Asiatic mainland,—all bring her into competitive contact and rivalry with ourselves. The Japanese government has many and serious problems, with which to deal, in several of which we are involved. However, a deadlock exists. The nations find it impossible to come to agreement. Pitkin finds some justice in Japan's claims. He realizes that, if we bar out the Japanese from our own land, we must permit him to go elsewhere unchallenged. We must recognize that, as a rival in Asia, he has advantages which we must meet in other ways than trying to prevent their utilization. He considers the great danger in the national contacts in its threat to reduce our standard of living. He considers the Japanese issue as only a part of a greater crisis in which the fundamental question is standard of living. He lays out a proposed international policy. The crisis is *now;* if it can be postponed, the future will take care of itself. Unlike Lothrop Stoddard, he foresees no overwhelming of the white by colored races. He advises three procedures: "(1) forcing up the standard of living of the lower economic classes; (2) putting a stop to immigration, or greatly reducing it; and (3) scientific birth control." Almost one hundred pages of the book are given up to expert opinion on some problems of policy. As the gist of these is included in the author's own presentation, these opinions—dry and heavy by comparison—add nothing to the book. Pitkin's discussion is comprehensive, interesting and well worth reading, however much the reader may differ with some of his viewpoints and conclusions.

[1] "Must We Fight Japan?" Walter B. Pitkin. New York: 1921. The Century Co. 16mo; pp. xiv, 536.

Books about China run the full gamut of differing notes. The one before us—"The Charm of the Middle Kingdom" [2]—is "distinctly different." It is the work of a very young man, but youth is no crime. To use his own expression, he spent "many many months" in China, but the time that seemed so long under its charm appears to have been a couple of years. It must have passed slowly to make such an impression of duration and more than once in his book our author seems anxious to be "at home" again. His experiences and adventures seem to fall into two classes only, gruesome and feminine. He was a remarkably susceptible youth and the femininity that made appeal to him might be Tatar, Chinese, Miao, or what not—princess or school-teacher. We would say that it might be anything in petticoats, but some of the ladies of his admiration wore trousers—after the fashion of their country—or so little of anything that it needs no description. These gruesome or feminine experiences are described in lively and colorful fashion, in fact color is as omnipresent as in the writings of Lafcadio Hearn. The curious fact about Mr. Marsh's colors are that all of them are fabric shades; though he is describing landscapes or skies or rock-cliffs his terms are those that a lady uses with reference to gowns. One almost wonders whether in his childhood, before the canyon episode with a lady in scarlet, he had not an intimate acquaintance with the ribbon counter. We read the book at a sitting. It has a certain charm in its youthful enthusiasm and its color, and its bold and striking wording. It is vivid and entertaining, though it has little value as a record of China. Mr. Marsh was in Chinese customs service and was located in succession at Mukden, Tientsin and Mengtze. He was nowhere long enough to know much, but he gives snapshots of the things that interrupted a rather monotonous work. It is an expression of an interesting and unusual personality and as such has a greater value than as a contribution to knowledge of the Middle Kingdom.

Instead of "many many months," Prof. Williams spent thirty years in China. He too has been connected with the Chinese customs service, but he was also connected with the American legation for a time as *chargé* and has really seen and known China. His knowledge of the language and literature is also deep and genuine. He narrates no personal tales of horror or blood-curdling adventure, nor was he hyper-susceptible to feminine charms. His "China Yesterday and Today" [3] is a work of thoughtful scholarship, which will long have value. His thirty years of intimate and daily contact did not exhaust, but deepened his interest and sympathy. We know no book which gives so just an appreciation of the conditions of the China of today or serves better to suggest what may be expected of the China of tomorrow. Prof. Williams wastes neither time nor space; his book contains no padding. The 600 pages are none too much for the story he has to tell. The first half of the book shows China as she is and from what she has come. The introductory chapter—*What Is China?*—is full of suggestion. How truly does the flag of five colors represent the China of today? Does China hold Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria? If not, why not? Can she and will she

[2] "The Charm of the Middle Kingdom." James Reid Marsh. Boston: 1922. Little, Brown and Co. 16mo; pp. xiv, 245.

[3] "China Yesterday and Today." E. T. Williams. New York: 1923. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 8vo, pp. xvii, 613.

hold them in the future? A brief sketch of Chinese history then introduces a picture of Chinese society that is skilfully drawn. The family, woman, the farmer, the village, the city, the craftsman, guilds, the calendar and its festivals, Confucius, Confucianism in the home and as a state religion, Buddhism, Taoism—it would be difficult to more naturally and completely develop the subject. Anyone who knows aught of Chinese society will appreciate the order and system in this masterly presentation. The second half of the book deals with China's relations to the world and her political problems and movements. The author's experience in diplomatic service has fitted him to present these matters exceptionally well. He is especially qualified to show what part the United States has played in Chinese affairs. The discussion leaves us with a clear idea of China's problems, difficulties and efforts. We constantly admire our author's frank and openly expressed admiration, sympathy and hopes for China. We sometimes feel that he yet has something of the mission attitude behind it all and the feeling that American democracy is an ideal towards which all should strive. For ourselves, we have little of the complacent satisfaction of the person who triumphantly contrasts "the light of Asia" with "the light of the world," nor do we feel that China is happy in attempting a republic along western lines. But the fact that Prof. Williams leaves us with a little feeling of this kind does not diminish the value of his highly important work. A valuable appendix contains an immense amount of useful information, nowhere else so conveniently presented for reference. We should not refer to typographic errors—though there are a number—except that one is an error in fact, which occurs so frequently in books relating to the Philippines that there is danger of its becoming fixed in public consciousness. The *caribou* (p. 16) is not a domestic animal, either in China or the Philippines. American school teachers in the Islands persist in calling the *carabao* caribou; it is one of many mistakes they make. We congratulate our author upon his book and ourselves in having so convenient a manual.

The indefatigable Venezuelan writer, Dr. Diego Carbonell, minister of his republic to Brazil, is putting out a uniform series of his writings, the first number of which is before us.[4] It is in the nature of a defence and in its literary form it assumes the semblance of a fortification—the chapter headings indicating the construction of the edifice piece by piece. In a sense the book is a literary autobiography showing the growth and development of the author in thought and expression from his youth on. Carbonell has been a man of independence and conviction. His writings have caused criticism and met opposition. He has had to defend himself and his positions from the first championing of the theory of evolution to his critical study of the psychopathological study of the Liberator, Simon Bolivar. He has also been a hero-worshipper to an unusual degree and his heroes have been men of achievement. In what field the achievement may have been is a secondary matter. St. Francis, Ernest Renan, Carlisle, Haeckel, Pasteur—for these and a host of others he has warm admiration. That he has shifted his position from time to time, and surrendered one after another dogmas which he has cherished and defended matters little. His motto is *Quodscripsi scripsi* and in this book he reasserts his opinions, restates his views and emphasizes his admirations or criticisms. The original book was in the writing from 1913 to 1919, begun in Paris it was finished at Merida, Venezuela, under the shadow of the Andes. As a physician, a thinker, an educator and a diplomatic representative, Dr. Carbonell, who is still young, has made a real impression in Venezuelan science and letters. His vocabulary is extraordinary, his writing not always easy to understand, but the reading of his books will be stimulating to serious readers of the fine and stately Spanish language.

We recently quoted a Cuban author who used the David-Goliath story with reference to the relations between the United States and Cuba. The metaphor is common. Even Dillon employs it with reference to Mexico. Now it is José Dolores Corpeno of Salvador who employs it.[5] His country is, for various reasons, the most interesting of American republics. He is a worthy son of his land. Struggling against the bitterest poverty and discouraging surroundings, he has made good. Today he is Consul of Salvador in Costa Rica. He writes much, with earnestness and in fair style. His last book is a collection of brief expressions concerning life, men and nations. Several of them refer to his country or Central America as a whole. The one of the Goliath-David metaphor is not the best for showing his style or thought, but it indicates the way in which Latin-America looks on us:

Goliath is blond and ruddy and lives in the North.
David is dark, Indian, and lives in the South.
Both are bordered by the two seas and the same heaven arches over them.
Goliath crashes on resting his feet on the mountain summits.
David, on the other hand, silently nurses the hidden fires of the volcanoes.
Which will conquer?

FREDERICK STARR.

[4] "Bocetos de Honor, de Dolor y de Critica." Diego Carbonell. Rio de Janeiro: 1923. 16mo; pp. 278.

[5] "A la Claridad de las Estepas." J. Dols. Corpeño. San Juan de Costa Rica: 1923. 16mo; pp. 100.

THE ASTRONOMER.

All night the spectroscope I swing—
And I forget the human face—
Of nothing am I passing sure
Except unmeasured space.

Beneath my tower they pity me—
They will not leave my sod—
Their blatant voices cleave my ears:
"Poor soul, he knows not God!"

SAMUEL MARION LOWDEN.

CORRESPONDENCE

BRITISH LABOR AND INDIA

The present British Labor Government headed by the Rt. Hon. Ramsay Macdonald is really a coalition government which holds its power as long as it can act in a way which does not force the Liberals and Tories to join against them and overthrow them. In this precarious condition we find that the Labor Government has released Gandhi from prison. I have definite information from India that because the Government of Earl Reading in India, which put Gandhi and no less than 40,000 people in jail, agreed that Gandhi outside the jail would be less dangerous than dying in jail, Mr. Macdonald's government did not have much difficulty in releasing Gandhi on the pretext of Gandhi's physical condition. One of the reasons for Gandhi's release may be found in the fact that terroristic political crimes have lately been committed in Bengal and the Punjab and the English officials, Gandhi's worst opponents, agreed that as long as Gandhi was free he did his best to stop these violent political crimes. They agree that during the period of the ascendency of Gandhi, political assassinations practically ceased in India. Gandhi will be a power in preventing violent revolutionary movement. So Gandhi has been released.

The release of Gandhi, under the present circumstances, has some opportunist taint. However the credit goes to the Labor Party for releasing Gandhi. But there are thousands of political prisoners rotting in jails of India and when will they be released? Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and others took a stand about the release of the American war prisoners like Debs and others, and I understand there are over twenty members of British Parliament who have served sentences in British jails because of their political activities. Will they take a stand for the release of the political prisoners other than Gandhi? Unless they are released and the repressive laws now in force in India are repealed, mere release of Gandhi will be regarded as a grand-stand play to side-track the real issue in the Indian situation.

The seriousness of the situation regarding the political prisoners in India can be understood from the following facts taken from the *Forum* of Calcutta, January 19, 1924: *Alone in the province of Bengal during the period of four years,* 1916-1920, *six political prisoners committed suicide and four attempted suicide. Ten have died of tuberculosis, other ten suffering from the same disease are in bad condition and sixteen are victims of mental disease, and God alone knows how many have been broken in health. This is the story before the period of wholesale arrest practiced by the Liberal Government of Earl Reading.*

Only lately about twenty persons, highly educated political leaders, of the province of Bengal, have been arrested and put in jail without trial according to the existing law known as Regulation III of 1818. Earl Reading's Government has passed a regulation by which every Indian soldier if suspected of disloyal activities would lose his pension and also his land grants according to the recommendation of the civil and military officers.

We know that the Labor Government in spite of itself cannot do much for India, on other propositions of real value without the sanction of the Tories and Liberals who hold the rein. But we hope that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald will at least carry out some of the things (nothing revolutionary, but all mild reforms) regarding India which he has pointed out in his book "Government of India." Mr. Macdonald has acted as an honest friend of India with the limitation of a Britisher who wishes that not an inch of British Empire, however ill-gotten it may be, should go out of the Empire. The Swarajists of India have asked much less from Mr. Macdonald as an immediate reform measure than what Mr. Macdonald has written in his own book. With great interest India is watching what concessions be extended to her by the Labor Government.

The American Government has given far greater concessions towards freedom to the people of the Philippines and today there is a movement for absolute independence of the Philippines. Labor Government in Great Britain must not be deceived in thinking that the Indian people can be won over just by soft words or some grandstand play. Substantial concessions must be given to India or there is trouble in store. It may be that the people will be kept down by the same policy as was adopted towards Ireland, but it is certain that it will not have any permanent effect, but arouse bitterness. If labor fails to make adjustment of Indian questions in a fundamental way, such as repealing all repressive measures and granting such simple charters that none can ever be put in prison or punished without a fair trial, then the people of India will begin to think that there is also a brand of Imperialism which might be termed Labor Imperialism which is no less dangerous than other brands of Imperialism.

Washington, D. C. TARAKNATH DAS.

CAN AMERICA HELP IN WORLD RECONSTRUCTION?

Editor of UNITY:

Dear Sir:

I have received the following letter from E. D. Morel, M.P. Labor, Editor of British *Foreign Affairs* and Founder and Secretary of the Union of Democratic Control, in answer to my question: "What is the best way America can help in World Reconstruction?":

I am sure you will think this of sufficient importance to publish.

"America can best help to serve the World from further catastrophe by initiating, or co-operating with Great Britain in suggesting, a World conference for the purpose of:

"1. Enabling the German people to resume a national life free from external interference, and to recover financially and economically.

"2. Securing a wide measure of disarmament among all the nations in every branch of war organization.

"3. Abolishing the private manufacture of armaments.

"4. Establishing a scientific rationing of the world's raw materials in order to prevent imperialist economies, especially in particularly weak or uncivilized communities.

"5. Creating, either through the existing League of Nations strengthened and reformed, or through some other medium, an international mechanism designed to be a substitution for the institution of war; and to examine with impartiality the economic, political and racial problem of all states with a view to providing for their respective needs without their being driven to war in the attempt to secure them.

"6. Recognizing Russia.

"7. Ensuring the neutralization, on some such plans as that laid down in 'Africa and the Peace of Europe' and in 'The Black Man's Burden,' of the greater part of Africa including also the tropical regions; and abolishing the militarization of Africa.

"'1' involves the wide revision of the Versailles Treaty.

"'5' The latter part of this involves a re-examination of all the Peace Treaties of 1919 with a view to the protection of racial minorities.

"America can convince herself, if she chooses, that the British Government now in power is not an imperialistic government; but is sincerely and deeply anxious to start a new chapter in the history of international relationships.

"Its capacity to do so depends in large measure upon American action, or inaction.

"The best in America and the best in Britain associated officially and unofficially in the unselfish task of preparing a new and better future for humanity can change the face of the world."

New York City. JULIA ELLSWORTH FORD.

A LETTER ON OUTLAWRY

Mr. Salmon Oliver Levinson,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

I have been reading with much interest the debates published in the *Forum* magazine of January in which you took issue with Professor Reeves on the Outlawry of War, and I thought you might be willing to give me just a little bit of information in regard to the organization that has for its purpose the Codification of International Law and the Outlawry of War.

I was a soldier in the World War and spent two years overseas, eleven months of which were spent in army hospitals, and it is natural that I should favor a law such as you advocate. It is, however, not so easy to convince those who do not know from experience the rank injustice of war, and the impossibility of stopping its ravages as long as it is a legal pursuit.

I am in vocational training at the Colorado State Agricultural College, and I have tried for two years to show the students, who are in the greater part, much younger than I, the impossibility of the attainment of world peace under the present methods. When I began two years ago to talk of something more definite than the League of Nations there was but one student here who would admit that it was even

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

TO PROGRESSIVES

As a result of joint conferences held in Chicago, St. Paul, Omaha, Denver, and elsewhere, it was agreed to call a National Farmer-Labor-Progressive Convention in the Twin Cities on May 30th next, to nominate new party Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates.

These conferences were attended by representatives of existing farm, labor, and progressive organizations and political parties from Idaho, Nebraska, Colorado, Minnesota, Utah, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, South Dakota, New Jersey, Wisconsin, California, Washington, Montana, Iowa, Delaware, Illinois, North Dakota, Indiana, Wyoming and New Mexico.

This Convention is pledged to the Abolition of Special Privilege, and the conferees designated as their platform: (a) public ownership of railroads; (b) control of money and credit by the people, through government and co-operative banks; (c) public control of natural resources; (d) preservation of civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution; (e) prevention of judicial abuses.

Candidates must be nominated whose courage, honesty, and adherence to principle cannot be questioned; whose political sagacity and economic knowledge are of a high order, and who cannot be diverted from the task we have in hand.

Sincerely yours,
FRANK A. PATTISON, Chairman.
National Bureau of Information & Education, 15 East 40th Street, New York.

SCIENCE AND TRADITIONALISM

By Joseph A. Leighton, Ph.D., in the "Churchman" (February 2):

"Traditionalism is a practical failure in the face of the problems of the new industrialism. Traditionalism is a two-world theory. There are two separate worlds in its scheme: Here, earth; there, heaven—here, flesh; there, spirit—here, sin; there, miraculous redemption—here, death; there, immortal life—here, renunciation; there, bliss untold. An individual or a group which holds to this two-world theory cannot have much passion for turning human society into a fitter place to live in now. It becomes part of the divinely ordained scheme of things to endure the evils of this world, if the measure of one's endurance of these present ills is to determine his reward in the future realm of bliss. The saints are free to inherit the next world, provided the vigorous sinners who have the whip hand in this world are left undisturbed in their possessions and powers. The prosperous sinners are very well satisfied as a rule with this division of things.

"The Beatitudes are actually advanced as a reason for not disturbing the existing order. With what holy unction can the profiteer say, 'Blessed are the *poor*, for *theirs* is the Kingdom of Heaven," Heaven being very remote, but profits right at hand! . . .

"The question for those concerned with religion is this: Is there any longer a real place, a vital function, for religion at all? What is religion good for now? What religion is good for something today? It must be open to the spirit and teachings of science. It must find room and positive value for all the normal human impulses. It must be able to gather into a great imaginative and poetic synthesis all the strivings, hopes and faiths of a vast democracy whose ministers and high priests are the teachers and discoverers of truth; who teach and discover, who paint pictures and sing poems and dream dreams in order that humanity as a whole, no longer a privileged few, may enter into the fullness and joy of the more abundant life."

STOP THE NEXT WAR

From all sides comes the warning that war is about to start with the Ruhr and the Rhineland as the center of disturbance. If it is allowed to begin, there is imminent danger that it will follow the course of the last war in extent and disaster.

In Europe and the United States, the members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom are bending their energies to stop this awful catastrophe.

Workers in the cause of Peace all over the world look to the United States as a power that can turn the course of events from destruction to the rebuilding of civilization. The women of the world are looking to us to help.

In order to answer this world-wide appeal, the Section for the United States of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has undertaken—

1. To hold the *Fourth Biennial International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Washington, D. C., May 1 to 7, 1924.*

It is hard for us to measure the far-reaching importance of this Congress.

Delegates from twenty European countries—from India, China, Japan, Canada, South America and Mexico will meet large groups of American women.

Our visitors will present actual conditions abroad.

Together we shall discuss the methods of breaking the present deadlock and how we can create conditions of permanent Peace.

2. To promote an active campaign for a *Stop the Next War Congress of Debtor and Creditor Nations,* to be called by the President of the United States.

Those parts of the Treaty of Versailles arranging for the payment of reparations having proved both inadequate and productive of much misunderstand-

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a bare possibility. Last week we took a census of the campus and found that nearly one-half of the men students here were in favor of a law between nations that would apply alike to large and small, so I feel that I have not worked in vain.

I have been chosen to represent the College in the National Oratorical contest at Peoria, Ill., in April, and I shall speak on "The Outlawry of War," so you can see that I need all the material I can get on the subject.

Will you be so kind as to send or have sent to me whatever published information there may be on the subject, and also how I can get into the organization.

Thanking you very kindly, I am,

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) W. O. ORR.

A CORRECTION

Editor UNITY:

Sir: In my letter printed in UNITY of February 7th, commenting upon the casualties of the Amritsar massacre, the text should have read, "causing the death *and injury* of more than 1500 people." The words "and injury" were no doubt omitted in the typing of the article. My point still stands, that Mrs. Apcar lost all sense of proportion when she compared the recent Korean killings in Japan, to this massacre.

Thanking you for the correction,

I am, yours, etc.,
HARI G. GOVIL.

"Orient," New York City, Feb. 28, 1924.

ing and friction, the objects of this conference shall be:

a. The presentation and open discussion of the facts concerning economic conditions in the debtor and creditor countries, including facts relating to the negotiation of war loans and the raising and expenditure of all moneys.

b. Settlement of the terms of reparations of interallied debts and disarmament in order that all nations may join in the restoration of civilization and peace.

3. To hold an *International Summer School in Chicago, May 15 to 28, 1924.*

To carry out these plans we need a *Stop the Next War Fund of $50,000.*

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has eighteen organized branches in the United States and over five thousand members with an unlimited fund of enthusiasm and determination.

There are National Sections, and other forms of representation, in thirty-five countries of Europe and Asia and America.

The growth of the Peace movement in America among the churches, labor organizations, women's and young people's organizations, and many organizations giving their whole time to Peace, opens the way to the widest possible co-operation. All this great power can be brought to the prevention of another war.

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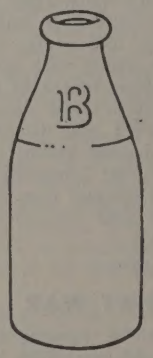

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